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441 438 563 The remainder of the inhabitants of Tà Li may be classified as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

441 563 A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

Shops in Ta Li City

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Barbers	11	Ssu Ch'uanese
Bedding	8	Yunnan Chinese
Books and stationery	5	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Brassmiths	7	Min Chia
Butchers	5	Min Chia
Cakes and confectionery	5	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Carpenters	5	Min Chia
Charcoal braziers	1	Min Chia
Coffins	13	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Crackers, incense and candles	7	Ssu Ch'uanese
Crockery	2	Yunnanese
Dentist	1	Cantonese
Drapers (cloth)	4	Min Chia
Embroidery	1	Min Chia
Furriers	4	Min Chia
Hatters	39	All groups
Ironmongers	6	Min Chia
Marbles	17	Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia
Medicine shops	55	Cantonese and Yunnanese

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THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Mixed imported goods	31	Cantonese and Yunnanese
Musical instruments	1	Ssu Ch'uanese
Paper images (for funerals)	4	Min Chia
Photographer	1	Cantonese
Picture sellers	5	Yunnanese
Printers	6	Yunnanese
Ready made clothes	11	Min Chia
Restaurants and Tea houses	64	Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems
Saddlers	9	Min Chia
Second hand clothing	6	Min Chia
Shoe shops	73	All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese
Silk stores (mercers)	42	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Silversmiths	18	Min Chia
Tailors	42	Min Chia
Tinsmiths	7	Min Chia
Tobacco, straw sandals, etc.	101	Min Chia
Transport firms	3	Moslem Yunnanese
Trunk makers	6	Min Chia
Watchmakers	3	Yunnanese
Wine and salt shops	64	Min Chia
Writing brush makers	4	Yunnanese
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441 The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

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shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent, aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products, mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral procession and are not usually kept in stock, being made to order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string, and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these commodities under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a government monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the only industries which cater for a wider market than the immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and